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of the states, as for example in Pennsylvania, should have received further attention, for they explained the waning of Federalism. Still, the book itself is so sanely written that it seems ungrateful to call attention to what are very small defects.

WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD.

*The American Nation: A History.* Edited by ALBERT BUSHNELL HART. Volume 12. *The Jeffersonian System, 1801-1811.* By EDWARD CHANNING, Professor of History, Harvard University. Volume 13. *The Rise of American Nationality, 1811-1819.* By KENDRIC CHARLES BABCOCK, President of the University of Arizona. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1906. Pp. xii, 299; xvi, 339.)

THE two volumes under review are numbered 12 and 13, respectively, in the series of histories edited by Professor A. B. Hart under the title, *The American Nation*. Professor Channing's book covers the period from the inauguration of Jefferson to the outbreak of the War of 1812. He correctly holds that the earlier years of Madison's administration are to be regarded as a continuation of the Jeffersonian period. With the declaration of war on June 18, 1812, the "Jeffersonian system was at an end: a new epoch in the history of the American nation was begun."

This new epoch forms the period treated by President Babcock, which extends from the outbreak of the war to the complete nationalization of the Republican party, *i. e.*, from 1812 to 1819, although for purposes of introduction and conclusion the narrative is somewhat extended beyond these dates. The defects and advantages inherent in books written as portions of a serial publication need no enumeration here, although they are illustrated in the volumes before us. Suffice it to say that the authors have ably seconded the editor in reducing these defects to a minimum. The chief defect arising from the serial nature of the two volumes consists in a repetition of subject-matter already presented in an earlier number. That is, it is a defect from the standpoint of the reader who regards the books as volumes in a continued history, but a decided merit when each volume is considered as an independent monograph on the period it covers. Neither author gives more of the material contained in an earlier volume than is necessary for a clear understanding of the subject under discussion by one who has not read the preceding volume. Henry Adams's invaluable work covers all but the last two years of the period from 1801 to 1819, and each author freely uses the work and amply acknowledges his obligation to Mr. Adams. Both, however, preserve independence of judgment and do not hesitate to maintain conclusions at variance with those of Henry Adams. The authors, while in general following him, show a knowledge and use of the more important printed sources and evince skill and excellent judgment in handling them.

A rigid classification would demand that these volumes be assigned to the class of historical writings designed for the general reader rather than for the special student. The books are not and do not pretend to be distinct contributions to the historical scholar's knowledge of the period traversed; yet the sane and impartial judgment displayed and the admirable sense of proportion evinced, together with the clear grasp and scholarly exposition of the subjects treated, make each a work that the special student cannot afford to neglect. The critical essays on bibliography at the end of each volume are judicious and adequate and should prove of especial value to the teacher. Opinions might differ as to the judgment displayed in excluding or including particular titles, but some selection was necessary and on the whole the choice is well made and the valuation of authorities is sound and discriminating.

Professor Channing's *Jeffersonian System* begins with an excellent chapter upon the organization of Jefferson's administration. It is followed by one entitled "Republican Reformations", in which it is shown that the exigencies of the political situation prevented Jefferson from urging a thoroughgoing reform of Federalist methods. A narrow Republican margin in the Senate, an able minority in the House, overmatching the Republicans in debate, and factional divisions in Pennsylvania and New York compelled the President to look to New England for the votes necessary for maintaining his control of the government; but the political conversion of New England could not be won by measures of radical reform. Add to this the natural desire of the possessor of power to retain power and we have the reasons, as stated by the author, for the moderation shown by Jefferson in effecting reforms in harmony with his pre-election views. The ability of Gallatin as a finance minister is fully recognized and credit is given to him for making the Treasury Department "one of the most perfect organizations of a great financial machine which can be found anywhere in the world". A short and somewhat conventional narrative of the Tripolitan War is followed by three chapters upon the Louisiana Purchase, which, while perhaps laying too little emphasis on the constitutional aspects of the cession, give an account of the subject that is a model of historical exposition. These chapters, although containing little that can be called contributions to our knowledge of the subject, give the best short history of Jefferson's great achievement that the reviewer has ever read. Professor Channing follows Henry Adams in his treatment but does not concur in all of his conclusions. He dissents (p. 78) from the latter's opinion that Gen. Victor's instructions from the French government ordering him to take possession of Texas to the Rio Bravo (Rio Grande) fully justified the American contention, that, in acquiring Louisiana, we also gained title to Texas. The author maintains that all legal and historical hypotheses fall to the ground in face of the fact that Napoleon sold to us what he had no legal right to convey and what he did not even possess and that "In taking Louisiana we were the accomplices of the greatest highway-

man of modern history and the goods which we received were those which he compelled his unwilling victim to disgorge." Jefferson's relations with West Florida follow so closely, both in historical and in chronological sequence, upon the Purchase of Louisiana that the interjection, before the chapter on West Florida, of four excellent, but essentially unrelated essays, upon the Lewis and Clark expedition, slavery and slave-trade, the Chase impeachment and the Yazoo claims, decidedly weakens the interest in the narrative and breaks its continuity. Professor Channing intimates that the Lewis and Clark expedition, which was planned before the acquisition of Louisiana, was designed by Jefferson to pave the way for a possible future seizure of the western country and believes that the consummation of the purchase came "in the nick of time to save Jefferson from violating the code of international ethics". The author declares the struggle over the Yazoo claims to have been "one of the most far-reaching in the political history of the United States". The account of the long struggle is interestingly given but the facts presented hardly convince the reader that the opinion quoted is not somewhat too pronounced. Sobriety of judgment is, however, a marked characteristic of the work as a whole. The author is much more inclined to present the Scotch verdict of *not proven* than to hazard an opinion not fully warranted by the facts. This is noticeably true in the history of the Burr conspiracy, in which, in a treatment commendably free from bias, perhaps the verdict reached is the only possible one, namely, that everything was too hazy and indefinite in the mind of Burr himself to justify positive conclusions.

The remaining chapters of the book deal with foreign relations, and with the domestic events occasioned by them, which led up to the war with England. With a sure and impartial hand the author reveals the intricacies of the struggle for and against neutral rights. The policy of commercial restriction, he states, was in part formulated by Madison and was as much his policy as Jefferson's. Professor Channing corrects both Adams and McMaster in the matter of the blockade maintained by English vessels, before the war, off the port of New York, and shows that the blockade was not such a continuous one as they suppose.

The editor of the *American Nation* series says, in his introduction to this volume, that "the personality of Jefferson is in many ways the dominant note in the period" from 1801 to 1811. The editor's colleague has an excellent English style, well adapted to historical narrative, yet he does not seem to possess the dramatic power that makes a personality live again in his pages. Due credit is given to Jefferson, but the reader is not made to *feel* that his was the dominating, guiding personality of the early Republican period.

The thesis implied in the title of the next volume in the *American Nation* series, *The Rise of American Nationality*, is admirably and convincingly sustained by its author, who displays decided literary skill in keeping this thesis constantly before the reader. The details of the nar-

rative, set forth in an exceptionally good English style, are never allowed to obscure, but rather emphasize, the central idea of the work. The standard of literary merit is not only high but so well sustained that a badly constituted sentence, such as the one which begins chapter XVI., stands out in marked contrast.

President Babcock begins his history with an account of the factions present in the Republican party just before the war, and ascribes to these divisions in the majority party the responsibility for the extremely important failure to recharter the United States Bank. The defeat of the bank bill, the culmination of a long series of rebuffs, marked, he says, the triumph of faction and the final refusal of the Republicans in Congress to recognize the President and cabinet as their real leaders. Dr. Babcock considers Madison lacking in the essential qualities of executive leadership, but does not stop with negative defects; he places full responsibility for the appointment of incompetents, both in the cabinet and in the army, squarely upon the President, and he severely criticizes Madison for his seizures of West and East Florida as justifiable neither from the standpoint of fair-dealing nor from that of international ethics. The history of the events leading up to the war is well told, although much of it is simply a review of Professor Channing's chapters on the same period. One-half of the book is devoted to the War of 1812, the political history of which is a highly creditable production, save that the treatment of war finances is not sufficiently exhaustive. Military history, however, is not so clearly the author's forte. It is deficient in the matter of proportion, as, for example, the description of the Chesapeake campaign, excellent in itself, occupies twice as much space as the entire account of the much more important naval warfare upon the Great Lakes; and in ability to render the narrative of battles and campaigns thoroughly intelligible. Strong and vigorous English is not spared in denouncing the disgraceful management of the struggles on the Canadian borders, and the author regards the conduct of the war throughout as weak and inefficient. Well-merited emphasis is placed upon the importance of the Indian campaigns of the west and southwest both as factors in the English war and as preparation for the great movement of westward expansion which followed the close of the war. He asserts that the Indian wars cost the nation almost as much in lives, money, and suffering as did the actual warfare against the British.

Perhaps the best chapter in the book is the one which deals with the Federalist opposition in New England. While little that is new is adduced, the facts are so clearly stated and the evidence is so convincingly arrayed that the nature of the war as one of faction and section is fully established and the gravity of the crisis caused by New England's hostility is completely proved. Grave as was the situation, the facts suggest but do not warrant the author's conclusion, that, with New England commissioners in Washington for the purpose of treating with the federal government, the overthrow of the national government and the

establishment of a New England Confederacy, possibly allied with England, "would seem to have been inevitable" had news of the failure of Jackson at New Orleans or of the peace negotiations at Ghent been received. Dr. Babcock underestimates the strength of the war party in New England and apparently forgets that Massachusetts furnished more recruits for the war than any other state. An error (p. 165) is noted in the account of the Hartford Convention. The commissioners to Washington are stated to have been appointed by the Hartford Convention; as a matter of fact they were sent by the legislatures of Massachusetts and Connecticut as representatives of those states.

In the remaining third of the volume President Babcock ably describes the manifestations of the new spirit of nationality, which the war evoked, in the chartering of the second bank, in the adoption of a policy of tariff and internal improvements, in the westward expansion, in the aggressive foreign policy which brought Florida under the American flag and finally in the formulation of the law of Nationalism in the great decisions of the Supreme Court delivered by Marshall or by associates inspired by him. Slight defects, only, mar the high character of this part of the book; the chapter dealing with the acquisition of Florida being exceptionally good.

Considering the limitations imposed by the nature of the task assigned to them, the credit of fully maintaining the high standard set in the preceding volumes of the *American Nation* series and of closely approximating the ideal standard for works of this class must be accorded both to Professor Channing and to President Babcock.

MARSHALL S. BROWN.

*The American Nation: A History.* Edited by ALBERT BUSHNELL HART. Volume 14. *Rise of the New West, 1819-1829.* By FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, Ph.D., Professor of American History in the University of Wisconsin. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1906. Pp. xviii, 366.)

THE book is written in an attractive style in which few errors of literary taste occur and is pleasing in appearance, like the others in the series. The text seems free from mistakes; but the foot-notes contain some which are troublesome. The frontispiece is a reproduction "from the original life-mask" of Clay by Browere. There are nine outline maps illustrative of the text.

An introductory chapter on the competing national and sectional tendencies of American life in the decade under review is followed by three chapters in which the characteristic sectional traits and differences of New England, the Middle States, and the South respectively are set forth with much cleverness and discrimination; and it is pointed out frankly that the several sections are not entirely homogeneous in respect of even the traits that are considered most characteristic. There are